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THE MONROE DOCTRINE AND ITS APPLICATION TO HAITI

BY WILLIAM A. MACCORKLE,
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THE ORIGINAL MONROE DOCTRINE

In the discussions to which this interest has given rise and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

* * * *

The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments; and to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

* * * *

Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the government *de facto* as the legitimate government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting in all instances the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to those contingents circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any por-

tion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord.

* * * *

President Roosevelt's interpretation of the later doctrine:

We must recognize the fact that in some South American countries there has been much suspicion lest we should interpret the Monroe Doctrine as in some way inimical to their interests, and we must try to convince all the other nations of the continent once and for all that no just and orderly government has anything to fear from us. There are certain republics to the south of us which have already reached such a point of stability, order, and prosperity, that they themselves, though as yet hardly consciously, are among the guarantors of this Doctrine. These republics we now meet not only on a basis of entire equality, but in a spirit of frank and respectful friendship which we hope is mutual. If all the republics to the south of us will only grow as those to which I allude have already grown, all need for us to be the especial champions of the doctrine will disappear, for no stable and growing American republic wishes to see some great non-American military power acquire territory in its neighborhood. All that this country desires is that the other republics on the continent shall be happy and prosperous; and they cannot be happy and prosperous unless they maintain order within their boundaries and behave with a just regard for their obligations toward outsiders. It must be understood that under no circumstances will the United States use the Monroe Doctrine as a cloak for territorial aggression. We desire peace with all the world, but perhaps most of all with the other peoples of the American continent. There are of course limits to the wrongs which any self-respecting nation can endure. It is always possible that wrong actions toward this nation, or towards citizens of this nation, in some state unable to keep order among its own people, unable to secure justice from outsiders, and unwilling to do justice to those outsiders who treat it well, may result in our having to take action to protect our rights; but such action will not be taken with a view to territorial aggression, and it will be taken at all only with extreme reluctance and when it has become evident that every other resource has been exhausted.

THE LODGE RESOLUTION

Resolved, that when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communications or the safety of the United States, the Government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another Government, not American, as to give that Government practical power of control for national purposes. . . .

That the Monroe Doctrine made its apparent advent in the history of nations so late as the time of the President of that name, has,

to a certain extent, diminished its importance as a part of the fundamental and international life in the thought of the nations of the world. Whilst this doctrine did not form part of the written law of this country, still it originated in the very life of the American Republic, and is not, as a matter of truth, the doctrine of President Monroe but rather the doctrine which was part of the actual life of this republic in its inception. It was enunciated as a foundation proposition of our government by Washington, was interpreted and insisted upon as part of our fundamental life by Jefferson, and finally upon the historic occasion, established as the Monroe Doctrine.

Writers are fond of frequently repeating the statement that the Monroe Doctrine is not part of the international code, but that it is merely a policy of this government and only so understood in the law of nations. Whilst this may be the thought among other nations, the Monroe Doctrine is as absolutely part of the life of this republic, in its dealings with the nations of the world, as any doctrine of international law expressed and published as such by the nations of the world. It is fundamentally the Doctrine of the greatest and most powerful nation on earth, and so understood to be a primary doctrine by the hundred millions of people forming the great western republic. If it is not technically part of the code of international law, it is the belief of our people that it forms an essential part of the structure of our national life.

Secretary Foster stated:

It has been said that the Monroe Doctrine has no binding authority, first, because it has not been admitted into the code of international law; and, second, because it has never been adopted or declared by Congress. In reply, it may be said that the principle which underlies the Monroe Doctrine—the right of self-defense, the preservation of the peace and safety of the nation—is recognized as an elementary part of international law. . . . It stands today as a cardinal policy of our government.

While this doctrine may be a policy and not a part of the technical code of international law, it has for one hundred years held the hands of the mightiest nations on earth, who have recognized its potency equally with the recognition which they have extended to any principle of international law. The law of self preservation is the most fundamental and absolute of all the laws of nations. The Monroe Doctrine is the one vital doctrine, which in our intercourse with other

nations most vitally controls "our peace and happiness" and "our peace and safety." It is idle for any authority to contend that a principle so vital as this does not have the real potency and effect of international law. Throughout the discussions by the fathers and by those who latterly placed the doctrine in active effect, the one continuing thread runs, that underlying this doctrine are "the peace and safety" and "the peace and happiness" of the American nation. This doctrine was in one sense of the word a negative proposition. With the life of the world it has changed, not in its fundamental idea, for it is founded upon the preservation of the safety and peace of this republic, but the change has come, to a certain extent, with the altered condition of the times and the surroundings of our life, in the mode of our application of its principles.

In this discussion we found our argument upon the Monroe Doctrine, both in its original and its later construction. We believe, as a cardinal principle of its application, that independence is fundamental. To differ with another country in its ideas of government will form no reason why we should deprive any country of its governmental life and existence. We concede that because of the difference in thought, as to governmental policy, we should not interfere with, or establish over any government a suzerainty or control. We do not contend that the Monroe Doctrine applies to a country, unless the acts of that country interfere with the doctrine in our interpretation of its principles as to control by European nations, or unless it interferes with the preservation of our peace and safety, or unless it commits a breach of international law.

The distinguished president of the Academy has assigned to me the subject of "The Monroe Doctrine, Especially Considered as to its Application to the Republic of Haiti." Let us see if the conditions arising in this island interfere with any of the canons of this doctrine.

The island of Hispaniola, containing Haiti and San Domingo, includes about 28,250 square miles, and the Republic of Haiti about 10,200 square miles. The island is about the size of the combined States of Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Next to Cuba, it is the most important strategical point in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. It is directly on and commands the two great passages of the Atlantic Ocean into the Caribbean Sea from the eastern coast of the United States to and from

the canal. It thus practically controls the great bulk of the commerce of the United States to the East and the Pacific Ocean.

This island has within its shores more natural wealth than has any other territory of similar size in the world. By reason of its rich valleys and splendid mountains it has every temperature known to man. All tropical plants and trees, as well as the vegetables and fruits of the temperate climes, grow in perfection. The best coffee known to commerce grows wild without planting or cultivation. Sugar cane, indigo, bread fruit, melons, mangoes, oranges, apples, grapes, mulberries and figs all grow with little labor or care. Mahogany, manchineel, satin wood, rose wood, cinnamon wood, log wood, the pine, the oak, cypress and palmetto grow in rich profusion in its splendid soil. Here are the best dye stuffs known to commerce, and in the earth are silver, gold, copper, lead, iron, gypsum and sulphur. We hazard the statement that this island is more capable of supporting life in all of its phases, more able to create wealth and diffuse happiness to its people than any other land on the face of the earth. Its harbors are incomparable and will float the navies of the world. Its atmosphere is salubrious and its climate healthy. It is a natural paradise and the description of its beauty and resources by Columbus is absolutely true as of today:

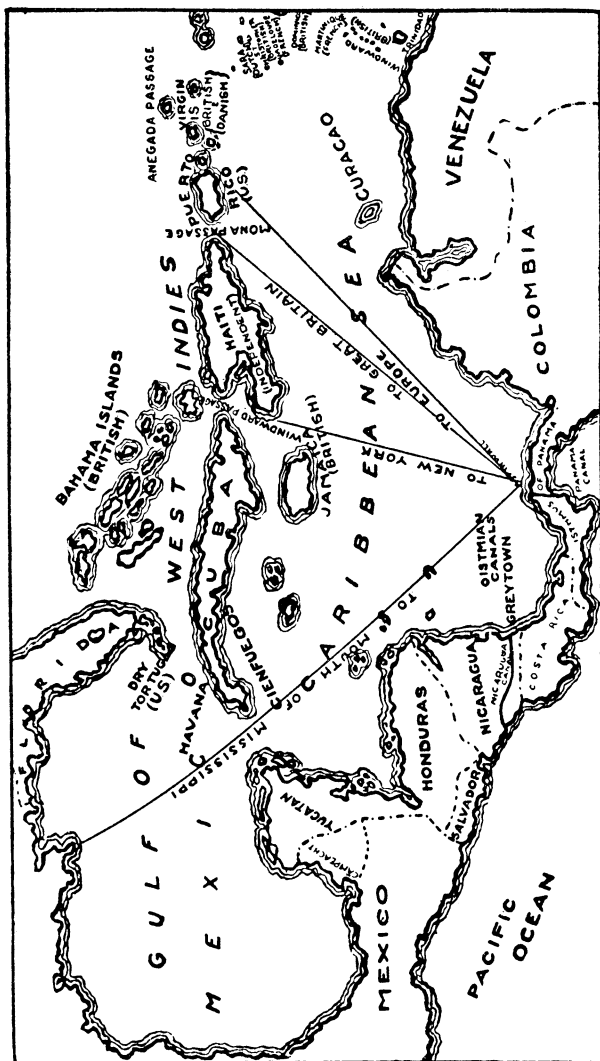
In it there are many havens on the seacoast, incomparable with any others I know in Christendom, and plenty of rivers, so good and great that it is a marvel. The lands there are high, and in it are very many ranges of hills and most lofty mountains incomparably beyond the Island of Centrefei (or Tene-riffe); all most beautiful in a thousand shapes and all accessible, and full of trees of a thousand kinds, so lofty that they seem to reach the sky. And I am assured that they never lose their foliage, as may be imagined, since I saw them, as green and as beautiful as they are in Spain in May and some of them were in flower, some in fruit, some in another stage, according to their kind. And the nightingale was singing, and other birds of a thousand sorts, in the month of November, round about the way I was going. There are palm trees of six or eight species, wondrous to see for their beautiful variety; but so are the other trees and fruits and plants therein. There are wonderful pine groves and very large plants of verdure, and there are honey and many kinds of birds, and many mines in the earth; and there is a population of incalculable number. Espanola is a marvel; the mountains and hills, and plains, and fields, and the soil, so beautiful and rich for planting and sowing, for breeding cattle of all sorts, for building of towns and villages. There could be no believing, without seeing, such harbors as are here, as well as the many and great rivers and excellent waters, most of which contain gold. In the trees and fruits and plants, there

are greater diversities from those of Juana (Cuba). In this there are many spiceries and great mines of gold and other metals. The people of this island and all others that I have seen, or not seen, all go naked, men and women, just as their mothers bring them forth.

The seas which are today actually and prospectively most important to mankind are the Mediterranean Sea, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. These seas, in their importance, have waxed and waned as have all other lands and seas of the globe. Whilst the Mediterranean has been important throughout history, today, as a part of the chain of communication to the East, it is probably more vital than ever in its history, for it commands the Suez Canal and is virtually part of the Suez route. The two great twin seas, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, are, if possible, more vital than the Mediterranean in their effect upon the commerce of the world. From their position they will be more world-wide in their direct influence upon commerce than the Mediterranean, because these two seas will embrace a greater part of the world.

It is necessary to our subject briefly to discuss the location of Haiti, (see p. 34) both in its strategical and trade positions. We would say that in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea there are five great strategical positions, the mouth of the canal, the mouth of the Mississippi, Cuba, Haiti, and Jamaica. The mouth of the Mississippi necessarily will command the great central valley of the United States, and here will be one of the great positions in the trade of the world. From the mouth of the Mississippi to Colon our commerce will have a straight course, passing Cape Catoche, the outermost point of Yucatan, and Cape Gracias a' Dios on the Mosquito Coast. This route will pass the island of Mujeres, which is not important, but will be within easy striking distance of the great island of Jamaica owned by Great Britain.

The island of Cuba is the great controlling strategical influence in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. It lies across the route from North America, and largely commands the route from the mouth of the Mississippi to the eastern opening of the canal. It controls the passage from the Gulf of Mexico into the Caribbean Sea through the Yucatan Channel, and into the Gulf of Mexico from the Atlantic by the Florida straits. It is the great controlling strategical influence in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.



Map showing location of Haiti.

The second great strategical point is the island of Haiti.

The two great routes to the mouth of the canal from North America are, first, the route by the Windward Passage between the island of Cuba and the island of Haiti. Second, the route by the Mona Passage between the island of Haiti and the island of Puerto Rico. This latter passage will be that chiefly used by the sailing vessels to and from the canal to the eastern portion of North America. The other important passage to the mouth of the canal is the Annegada Passage by the island of St. Thomas and Puerto Rico, and will be the route used from the isthmus to the Mediterranean and Central Europe. The travel to the British Islands and northern Europe will also use the Mona Passage between Haiti and Puerto Rico. In other words, every ship sailing from New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Canada, Baltimore, Newport News or the eastern coast of North America on its journeys to the infinite world of commerce will be compelled to pass by the island of Haiti, either through the Windward or the Mona Passage, and the travel to the greater part of Europe will use the Mona Passage by the East Coast of Haiti. This world-wide commerce, in case of stress and storm on its voyage to the commercial world, must utilize this great island in the necessities of sea life. It is the first great harboring place on its way to the canal, and on its return it is the last stopping place. It will be as necessary to the commerce of this country as Malta or Aden or Gibraltar are to the Suez route. It lies athwart the greatest commerce that will cleave the seas.

In the present governmental condition of Haiti, and with its relation to this country, the island of Jamaica will be supremely important from a strategical standpoint, if controlled or held by an unfriendly power, and it could cripple our commerce passing through the Windward or the Mona Passage. With the friendly influence of Cuba and Haiti the commerce of the United States would have a tremendous advantage in case of war or unfriendliness on the part of any nation, even if Jamaica was held by an unfriendly power.

It is usual to speak of the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico as the American Seas, and to consider them as part of our life and practically within the control of this great nation. It is important to glance at these great seas and appreciate how they and the canal are environed about and controlled by islands, which would become vital to our commerce in case of war or unfriendliness of the nations

of Europe. First, is the island of Jamaica owned by Great Britain, which is practically at the mouth of the canal. Of almost equal importance is the island of Curacao, which in the hands of an unfriendly power would be disastrous in its effect upon the commerce of the canal. To the east and within striking distance are Martinique, in the hands of France, Santa Lucia owned by England, St. Thomas owned by Denmark, the Bahamas and the Bermudas in the hands of England, with Cuba and Haiti in independent control, neither of which last two could be utilized by the United States in case of conflict with the other nations of the world. In other words, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea are environed by islands in the control of the two great nations of the world, France and England, and by two great islands, Haiti and Cuba, the latter of which are strategically so situated that they could largely control the commerce of practically half of the world. In this sea the United States, to which this commerce is supremely vital, with the exception of the harbor of Guanatanamo in Cuba, controls only the relatively insignificant island of Puerto Rico. Outside of these unimportant exceptions the United States has no right to fortify any of the islands or to use them as bases from which we can protect our commerce and our rights in the canal.

Let us consider, as briefly as possible, the governmental and social condition of the republic of Haiti, so importantly located as it is, and the probability of its becoming a menace to the fundamental principles of the Monroe Doctrine. It is important for us to see if it offends against the peace and safety of this country. This is not a pleasant subject of discussion. No one cares to indict a whole people, but the question of the future of this island in its relations to this republic, is one of deep and abiding importance to the American people, and surely in the conditions of today worthy of discussion in the publications of this society.

It is practically part of the shore line of our republic, and is in control of the avenues of our greatest routes of commerce to the world, and lies at the mouth of the canal which has cost us untold sums of money. Through its great passages will flow the bulk of our commerce to the East, and the question for consideration with the American people is whether this commerce should oftentimes be placed in the control of a government continuously engaged in internecine war, revolution and insurrection and sunk in religious

and governmental degeneracy. The question is vital to us, as to whether the condition of this island, so important to us, will ultimately lead to interference on the part of European nations or compel us, in order to preserve the peace and safety of our country, to provide, by some means, that its present condition be changed, and, instead of being a menace to the peace and safety of our republic, it may become a blessing to the world and a protection to the commerce, which will be the greatest ever witnessed since the keels of mankind's ships began to cleave the water in their quest for knowledge and riches throughout the world.

Let us, as briefly as may be, answer this question by giving the condition of this island as set out by those who have visited its shores and who are conversant with its conditions. That which shows the real life of a nation is its governmental policy and its religious ideals. To these two propositions I invite your attention.

Since the evacuation by the French, Haiti has been a land of seething revolution, despotism and crime against religious and governmental law. With the forms of a free government, yet it has been a despotism unrivaled in its disregard for human rights. A general of a department, with a ragged army of banditti behind him, who by blood and rapine seizes control of the government, oftentimes without the pretense of the forms of an election, has generally furnished the horrid phantasmagoria which since the French evacuation has posed in the Haitian Republic under the guise of free government.

Says Ober:

Founded as it is upon force, with the strongest man at the head, nominally as president, but in reality a dictator, the Black Republic cannot endure another century as it is going now, without calling to it the attention of the world, and exciting its strongest reprobation. It is the desire of more than one government that the United States should take this irresponsible island republic in hand and administer to it a salutary lesson. Nothing short of extermination, some aver, could effect a reform in the Haitian body politic; but as this age does not tolerate the radical measures of the olden time it is not probable that the present generation will experience a reformation. Sir Spencer St. John, who was formerly the English Minister-Resident in Haiti, and who wrote an exhaustive account of the doings in the Black Republic, says, of it, amongst other things not complimentary: "No country possesses greater capabilities, or a better geographical position, or more varied soil, climate or production, with magnificent scenery of every description; and yet it is now the country to be avoided, ruined as it has been by a succession of self-seeking politicians, without honesty or patriotism."

Says Froude in *The English in the West Indies*.

The island being thus derelict, Spain and England both tried their hand to recover it, but failed from the same cause, and a black nation, with a republican constitution and a population perhaps of about a million and a half of pure-blooded negroes, has since been in unchallenged possession, and has arrived at the condition which has been described to us by Sir Spencer St. John. Republics which begin with murder and plunder do not come to much good in this world. Haiti has passed through many revolutions, and is no nearer than at first to stability. The present president, M. Salomon, who was long a refugee in Jamaica, came into power a few days back by a turn of the wheel. He was described to me as a peremptory gentleman who made quick work with his political opponents. His term of office having nearly expired, he had reelected himself shortly before another seven years and was prepared to maintain his right by any measures which he might think expedient. He had a few regiments of soldiers, who, I was told, were devoted to him, and a fleet consisting of two gunboats commanded by an American officer to whom he chiefly owed his security.

Says Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester, U. S. Navy, a most careful and distinguished observer, in his article in the *Geographical Magazine* on "Haiti: A Degenerating Island:"

It is not possible within the limits of this paper to go into details regarding the turbulent history of Haiti. The fact that of its twenty-one rulers, from Dessalines to the one now holding power, four only have completed their terms of office, the most of them being driven out of the country, will show the general tendency of the people to revolution. History is here constantly repeating itself, summed up in the general statement that the "outs" are always struggling to get into power, while the "ins" are striving to retain possession of the spoils of office.

It is said that Haiti is getting blacker and blacker, the white element having been practically exterminated or removed from the island. . . .

In all its political history, Haiti, the beautiful, has been torn almost to shreds by its turbulent inhabitants, led on by a few aspiring chiefs, who rarely have had any other object in view than personal gain.

Says Stephen Bonsal in *The American Mediterranean*:

Of course, if Haiti were a true republic the people would have an opportunity to correct the abuses from which they suffer by exercising the manhood franchise to which, under the constitution, they are entitled, but, of all farces and travesties of popular institutions which are so prevalent in the Black Republic, that of the so-called popular elections is the most flagrant. Elections to the chamber are held or not held, not as prescribed by law and at the proper intervals, but simply when and how it may suit the personal convenience and private profit of the supreme military chief of the day. If he can secure

more money in bribes from the deputies already assembled and in session than is offered by those desirous of legislative honours and opportunities for corruption, then the old chamber remains on indefinitely. If the new men offer to the military chief a sufficiently substantial inducement, the legislature in being is dismissed, although it may have enjoyed only a month of life, and new elections offered.

Again says Bonsal:

In the winter of 1907-08, when twenty-two of the adherents of Dr. Firmin fell into the hands of the administration general at St. Marc, that officer walked them out to the nearest cemetery, and after they had dug a trench deep enough to hold their bodies, had them shot and buried. He then reported to his commander-in-chief, President Nord Alexis, the occurrence textually as follows:

"Feeling confident that my procès verbal of the affair, which I shall have drawn up at the earliest possible moment, would meet with your excellency's approval, to save time, I have executed the twenty-two prisoners—provisionally." This butcher never received a word of censure, but, on the contrary, was promoted by his chief.

The first effort is to obtain possession of the custom house, so as to provide the sinews of war and to obtain perquisites for those in charge of the revolution. Then ensues a massacre of those who followed the unsuccessful aspirant for the presidency.

At its head is a president assisted by two chambers, the members of which are elected and hold office under a constitution of 1889. This constitution, thoroughly republican in form, is French in origin, as are also the laws, language, traditions and customs in Haiti. In practice, however, the government revolves itself into a military despotism, the power being concentrated in the hands of a president. The Haitians seem to possess everything that a progressive and civilized nation can desire, but corruption is spread through every portion and branch of the government. Justice is venal, and the police are brutal and inefficient.—*Encyclopedia Britannica*.

Says Hazard in *San Domingo and Haiti*:

But the same causes which tended then to demoralize the country and unsettle its people are those that render it a hotbed of revolution today. The bankruptcy of its treasury, the ambition of aspiring chiefs, the hatred of disappointed ones, and the want of any regular system of commerce and agriculture, with the incubus of an army living in idleness and eating up the substance of the land, must have their effect.

Official peculation, judicial murder, and utter corruption of every kind underlie the forms and titles of civil government; the religion, nominally Christian, is largely vaudoux or serpent-worship, in which actual and horrible

cannibalism is even now a most important element. Instead of progressing, the negro republicans have gone back to the lowest type of African barbarism.—*Chambers Encyclopedia*.

A land of continuous revolution.—*Encyclopedia Britannica*.

A fair illustration of their system of election is exemplified in the so-called election of Nord Alexis in 1902. Being in control of the government forces and not having been known as an aspirant for the presidency, upon the assembling of the national assembly, Alexis demanded that he should be elected president. To his repeated demands the national assembly paid little attention. On the eve of his so-called election his troops in the field surrounded the palace, falling into firing groups. In the palace preparations for a banquet were in progress. Entering the national assembly he notified it that its members could elect him president and go to the banquet, or face the firing squads being formed in the yard. He was elected by acclamation. This is but one of hundreds of illustrations of the hollow pretense of free government in this island. An election means nothing but a revolution flowing with blood. It is a battle or a massacre, and this has been practically a continuous proposition ever since the French evacuation. The government is a despotism pure and simple, which fattens upon the blood of an ignorant people, and is only a horrid pretense of free government. It is gradually and surely degenerating and its conditions must ultimately become worse. Read the record of its unstable and gory governmental life:

- 1804. Dessalines crowned as emperor.
- 1806. He is assassinated; war between Haiti and San Domingo.
- 1807. Christophe becomes king under title of Henry the First, war.
- 1811. Petion president of southern part; civil war.
- 1820. Boyer declared regent for life; after tremendous insurrection and flow of blood Christophe commits suicide.
- 1843. Boyer deposed and exiled after revolution.
- 1844. Riviere exiled after one year; war.
- 1845. Guerrier in office one year.
- 1845. Pierror abdicated.
- 1846. Riche proclaimed president; died in one year.
- 1847. Soloque declared emperor after many wars and much bloodshed; exiled in 1859.
- 1858-59. Geffrard president until 1867, and then exiled.
- 1856-67. Dreadful revolution where Salnave revolts, takes refugees from British consulates and kills them; English ship drives them out and helps Geffrard; Geffrard banished, Salnave made president with a new constitution; revolt suppressed amidst torrents of blood.

- 1868-70. Continual revolution; Salnave massacres his enemies; proclaims himself emperor, is finally defeated and shot.
- 1870-74. Nissage Saget completed his four years.
1874. Domingue seized the government, and after bloody revolution exiled in 1876.
1876. Canal after bloody revolution seizes power; after many revolutions he is expelled in 1879.
1879. Salomon elected; reelected 1886.
1888. Salomon deposed and exiled; civil war between Hipolyte and Legitime; Legitime placed in office for one year and exiled.
- 1889-96. Hipolyte after many insurrections died in office; supposed to be poisoned.
1896. Simon Sam president; trouble with Germany; numerous disorders until 1899.
1900. Sam takes all the funds and leaves the country.
1902. General Nord Alexis proclaimed president.
1908. Nord Alexis retired by revolution; powers sent warships to stop massacre.
1911. Cincinnatus Le Conte proclaimed president; killed in 1912.
1912. Tancrede Auguste appointed president; killed in May 1913.
1913. Michael Orresti proclaimed president; was retired by revolution January 27, 1914.
1914. Orresti Zamor assumed the presidency February 8, 1914, and at last accounts was still alive. In other words, the constitutional office for a president in Haiti is seven years, and President Salomon, who held office from 1879 to 1886 is apparently the only Haitian president to fill out his term of office. He was killed, however, within two years after his reelection for a second term in 1886.

A writer occupying a high position in the Haitian government has lately put forth a masterpiece of special pleading in defense of his government. Any defense of this kind is idle. The island is a land of despotism and wicked government, which is increasing and not decreasing in its terror. Within a month it has reeked with blood under the throes of one of its almost continuous revolutions. Our government has been again compelled to intervene and save the lives of many of the parties engaged in this internecine war. A number of times, by reason of this situation, war has been almost precipitated between the Haitian government and the European nations. The action of the German government is fresh in the minds of our people, and the warships of Great Britain and France are only too frequent in the harbors of Haiti, protecting their subjects, demanding redress for grievances and saving human life. This means, sooner or later, that the irresponsible government of the Republic of Haiti will commit the act

which will involve us, under the first clause and original application of the Monroe Doctrine. It seems that if it was not for the Monroe Doctrine, backed by the strong hand of this government, this island today would be under the control of a European nation.

Let us pursue this investigation and consider further the moral and religious condition of this island, almost part of our shore line. Religion is but a pretense. The worship of the green snake and the control of the voodoo are everywhere prevalent. The island has degenerated from its once high estate, and there is no pretense but what the Papaloi and the Mamaloi are as potent as any of the figures in its life. It seems to be true, that on any night the horrid rites of the voodoo can be witnessed in the heart of the capital of Haiti, surrounded by the soldiers in the uniform of the Haitian government. In the book mentioned this statement is denied, and the assertion is made that Haiti has been slandered by the book writers and the magazine makers, by "unscrupulous writers and travelers." This assertion is unbelievable. I do not quote Spencer St. John, the English minister, who resided in this island for many years, who states in detail the horror of despotism which governs the island, and who gives the details of the dreadful practice of the voodoo, and who charges child stealing and cannibalism to these people. I will leave him out of the controversy entirely, and quote only a few of the many other proofs:

Says Stephen Bonsal in *The American Mediterranean*:

A man, of course a general, is in prison for treason or a detournement of funds. (This is a delicate way they speak of stealing in Haiti when they will speak of it at all.) It is a question of such minor importance, simply whether the man shall live or die, that the president will not defer it to the Papaloi or Voodoo priest, who lives in the hills behind the city, so he drops a manikin of clay upon the floor. If it breaks, the man dies; if it remains intact, then he lives—as long as the noisome atmosphere of a Haitian prison will let him. . . .

Again the doubt, the President would draw a line across the floor of his sanctum and then pitch manikins, this time made of wood and attired in the gaudy glory of Haitian generals. If the puppets passed the line, it meant one thing; if they lagged behind, it meant another, and so the State papers were fashioned and the presidential decrees inspired in Haiti.

But of course upon the graver questions the Papaloi and the Mamaloi, the high priest and the high priestess of the Voodoo sect, sat in judgment. The Papaloi, or Guinea coast prophet, with his fetich worship and his Congo prayers, is the one solid, substantial fact in Haiti. Around about him turn Haitian life and politics. In some administrations the doors of the Black House

have not been as wide open to these prophets of the night as they were while Nord Alexis ruled, but never have they been closed except in the reign of the mulatto Geffrard some forty years ago, and his was a short and little day and ended with exile to Jamaica, where, under the guidance of intelligent and sympathetic white men, the Afro-American is accomplishing more, perhaps, than anywhere else.

The cannibalistic feed is only indulged in on rare occasions and at long intervals and is always shrouded in mystery and hedged about with every precaution against interlopers; for, be their African ignorance ever so dense, their carnal fury ever so unbridled, the Papaloi and Mamaloi, the head men and head women worshippers never seem to forget that in these vile excesses there should perhaps be found excuse enough for the interference of the civilized world to save the people of the Black Republic from the further degradation which awaits them.

Within the last fifteen years human victims have been sacrificed to the great god Voodoo in the national palace of Haiti. Last February there was assembled in the national palace what might justly be called a congress of serpent worshippers. During the life of Mme. Nord, which came to an end in October, 1908, not a week passed but what a meeting of the Voodoo practitioners was held in the executive mansion, and her deathbed was surrounded by at least a score of these witch doctors.

Says Ober in *The Wake of Columbus*:

The serpent is the deity of the Voudous, and he is represented by a high priest, called the Papaloi, and a priestess, the Mamaloi; meaning the father and the mother king. Their demands are absolute, and no sectary dare disobey them. In this lies their menace to good government, and it is well known that even some of the rulers of Haiti have been dominated by them. The worship of the serpent is carried on as secretly as possible; the sectaries are bound by oaths of secrecy, and their incantations take place in the night. The serpent is consulted, through the priest or priestess, and the devotees then indulge in dancing and song, generally ending in the grossest forms of debauchery.

Froude in *The English in the West Indies* says:

But this is not the worst. Immorality is so universal that it almost ceases to be a fault, for a fault implies an exception, and in Haiti it is the rule. Young people make experiment of one another before they will enter into any closer connection. So far they are no worse than in our own English islands, where the custom is equally general; but behind the immorality, behind the religiosity, there lies active and alive the horrible revival of the West African superstitions; the serpent worship, and the child sacrifice, and the cannibalism. There is no room to doubt it. A missionary assured me that an instance of it occurred only a year ago within his own personal knowledge. The facts are notorious; a full account was published in one of the local newspapers, and the only result was that the president imprisoned the editor for exposing the country.

A few years ago persons guilty of these infamies were tried and punished; now they are left alone, because to prosecute and convict them would be to acknowledge the truth of the indictment.

Rear-Admiral Chester further says:

No accurate history of Haiti can be written without reference to the horrible sorcery, called the religion of Voodoo, which was introduced into the country with the slaves from Africa. Its creed is that the God Voodoo has the power usually ascribed to the Christian's Lord, and that he shows himself to his good friends, the negroes, under the form of a non-venomous snake, and transmits his power through a chief priest or priestess. These are called either king and queen, master or mistress, or generally as Papalois and Mamalois. The principal act of worship consists of a wild dance, attended by grotesque gesticulations, which leads up to the most disgraceful orgies. A secret oath binds all the voodoos, on the taking of which, the lips of the neophyte are usually touched with warm goat's blood, which is intended to inspire terror. He promises to submit to death should he ever reveal the secrets of the fraternity, and to put to death any traitor to the sect. It is affirmed, and no doubt is true, that on special occasions a sacrifice is made of a living child, or the "goat without horns," as it is called, and then cannibalism in its worst form is indulged in. Under the circumstances of taking the oath of allegiance, it should cause no surprise that the Haitians claim that this is not true and defy any white man to produce evidence of guilt. But, notwithstanding, no one can read the horrible tales published by one of the British ministers to Haiti, which described in detail the revolting practices of the voodoos, together with the proofs he brings to substantiate the truth of the allegations, without coming to the reluctant conclusion that cannibalism is resorted to in these meetings. Of course, no white man could long live on the island after having given testimony leading to the conviction of culprits in such cases, and therefore the negroes' demand for proof can never be satisfied. Indeed, it is said that even some presidents who have openly discouraged the voodoo practices have come to violent deaths from this cause.

The character of the meetings of the voodoos, which take place in secluded spots in the thick woods, is well known, and I have been given a description of one of them from an eyewitness, who is an officer of our navy, which no one could hear without a shudder. He states in brief that one day while out hunting he abruptly ran into a camp of worshippers, which was located in a lonely spot in the woods, and the horrors he there saw made an indelible impression upon his mind.

When his presence was discovered he was immediately seized by a frenzied crowd of men and women, and for some minutes there did not seem to be a question but that his life was to be forfeited; but the Papalois called a halt and a council, apparently, to determine what action should be taken, and while this was in session a handful of coin, judiciously scattered diverted the thoughts of the negroes for the time being from their captive. The usual sacrifice of a live white rooster was now brought on, seeing which the people were called back to their worship, and the ceremonies went on in his presence.

In the horrible struggle which took place for possession, the bird was torn literally to pieces, and he had no doubt that its accompaniment, the "goat without horns" would soon follow. While this was in progress his presence seemed to be forgotten, and, watching a good opportunity, he ran for his very life, not stopping until he reached the protection of his ship.

Says Prichard in *Where Black Rules White*:

But there is one thing common to the whole country, of which every Haitian denies the existence. Vaudoux is the one thing which they declare they have not. They tell you there is no snake-worship (I am speaking of the higher classes) within the bounds of the republic. But when you betray certain knowledge of the subject, they admit that though sacrifices and savage dances may take place in other departments, no such things are known in that one in which you at the moment find yourself.

Thus in Jacmel they told me I should find Vaudoux in Port-au-Prince and the Plain of Cul-de-Sac. In Port-au-Prince as I was actually returning from witnessing a sacrifice within the limits of the town, I was advised to go to the Cape, where alone such rites flourished. And at the Cape they told me to take ship for Jacmel, for there I would assuredly find them. As a matter of plain fact, the traveller riding across the country in any direction is quite likely to come suddenly in view of the ceremonies in full swing. He will see the tell-tale dances, the faces smeared in blood, perhaps even the body of the black goat, the sacred sacrifice.

In *The Wake of Columbus*, Ober further says:

It may bear away the palm of being the most foul-smelling, dirty, and consequently fever-stricken city in the world. Every one throws his refuse before his door, so that heaps of manure and every species of rubbish encumber the way.

As to the streets, they do not seem to have been mended for the last hundred years. The Haitians have a saying, "Bon Dieu gâte li; bon Dieu pareé li." God spoils them, and God will mend them. As the "bon Dieu" only helps those who help themselves, and as the Haitians have no desire to help themselves in the way of making or repairing their roadways, their condition is frightful beyond description. The gutters are open, pools of stagnant and fetid water obstruct the streets everywhere, and receive constant accessions from the inhabitants using them as cesspools and sewers. There are few good buildings in town, and none in the country, the torch of the incendiary being constantly applied, and no encouragement offered to rebuild, through protection of the government or local enterprises. Buildings destroyed by earthquake or fire are never replaced, and the nearest approach to rebuilding is seen in the slab shanty leaning against the ruined walls of a large structure demolished.

Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester in his article on "Haiti: A De-generating Island," further says:

Of the eleven ports of Haiti open to foreign commerce, Cape Haitien and Port-au-Prince are the largest and most progressive.

Cape Haitien, or "The Cape," as it is commonly called, is situated on the northwestern coast, at the foot of a hill that slopes back to the sea, with most picturesque surroundings. It has a commodious harbor and supports a population of 30,000 or 40,000 people. Under the French, it was the capital of the colony, and its wealth, splendor and luxury gained for it the name of Little Paris; but now the structures erected by the French in colonial days are a mass of ruins, the parks overgrown with tropical weeds, the fountains choked with debris, the gutters filled with filth, all producing pestilential emanations from which foreigners speedily run away, if they are forced into its environments.

Port-au-Prince, the present capital of the Republic, as well as its largest and most important city, is likewise most picturesquely located at the foot of hills, where one may escape from its blistering and filthy streets to mountain resorts that would be popular if located in almost any country of the world. Unlike Cape Haitien, the city is cut off from the trade winds, to which this island owes so much of its salubriousness, and therefore it is hot; but still the traveler caught in the town may frequently felicitate himself when he reads that cities in our own country have higher temperatures by 10 to 15 degrees than is usually found here. The city is well supplied with the most delicious mountain water, and if its 60,000 inhabitants used it as freely as do Americans, it might be as clean as nature made it. As it is, it may well hold the palm for being the most filthy, foul smelling and, consequently fever-stricken city in the world. The gutters of the streets, which may be said to cover the whole roadbeds, are filled with stagnant waters and are used as cesspools by the people. But for the torrential rains, which pour down the mountain sides and carry off all the filth, into the beautiful bay, even a Haitian could not live there. But the bay, thus polluted, is quite as much of a menace to health as the city itself. During the visits of American men-of-war to the port, most of the time is spent in keeping the people from the pestilential vapors which emanate from the sea itself. The water of the harbor is so bad that it cannot be used even for scrubbing the decks of the ship.

Froude in *The English in the West Indies*, further says:

No one can foretell the future of the Black Republic, but the present order of things cannot last in an island so close under the American shores. If the Americans forbid any other power to interfere, they will have to interfere themselves. If they find Mormonism an intolerable blot upon their escutcheon, they will have to put a stop in some way or other to cannibalism and devil-worship. Meanwhile, the ninety years of negro self-government have had their use in showing what it really means, and if English statesmen, either to save themselves trouble or to please the prevailing uninstructed sentiment, insist on extending it, they will be found when the accounts are made up to have been no better friends to the unlucky negro than their slave-trading forefathers.

Mining is largely an unknown occupation in Haiti. Agriculture has languished, although it is true that in 1912 the coffee crop increased and concessions have been made to some timber enterprises, but little has been done in the way of enterprise and action in this island, situated athwart the commerce of the world. If this condition was sporadic and lasted but for a time it would be a proposition for consideration, but when the island is lapsing practically into degeneracy, when the government is a continuous revolution and the state of religion is as the proofs indicated in this paper, are not the peace and safety of this country constantly in peril by reason of the condition of this island, so near to us and so important to our life?

These statements are not pleasant. They are not made for any sinister purpose, but rather to bring to the attention of our people a condition of affairs at our very doors which is of vital and increasing importance to this nation. It is easy to apply the Monroe Doctrine as to non-interference on the part of European nations with our hemisphere. The great question is our own position with the nations of this hemisphere, which may offend against the doctrine which conserves the peace and safety of our government. With the world movement of today, with the enormous changes which have taken place by reason of the building of the Isthmian Canal, it is idle to say that our peace and safety can be preserved if we sit by and allow an international nuisance to bring upon this country the interference of the nations of Europe, and compel us by blood and treasure to enforce the original application of our doctrine of European non-interference. Free Cuba and the free Central and South American states attest the fact that one of the great fundamental desires of this republic is that it shall be surrounded by free people and governments. Is it not apparent, however, that the time has arrived when the conditions in and along the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea can no longer be tolerated? These seas, for many years, have been silent seas. The conditions are now reversed and the great trade routes of the world will pass about these islands and over these seas, and they will be noisy with the whirl of the propeller and bright with the sails of ships. This island will be in the midst of a world-wide traffic and commerce, whose freedom and non-interference are practically guaranteed by this country.

Can the peace and safety of this country be preserved unless we adopt the measures which are the inalienable right of every nation? The world, with the shortening of trade routes, the touching of nations, and their demands for sure commercial conditions, is arriving at the thought that there is no inalienable right on the part of any people to control any region to the detriment and injury of the world at large. This is not a covert statement, that under the Monroe Doctrine this nation can take control of the affairs of other states of this hemisphere, when the policy of that country does not suit our theories and ideas. It means, however, that when a country of this hemisphere persists in being an international nuisance, when it shows to the world a condition of general degeneracy by which it practically gives notice that there will be no improvement, that this government, under the Monroe Doctrine, will adopt measures for its own peace and protection and for the preservation of the trade and commerce of these seas, which are practically within its commercial life.

The Monroe Doctrine, I repeat, is nothing more nor less than a doctrine of self preservation. To permit the condition of the island of Haiti to exist, without interference or protest on our part, is illogical. Under the Monroe Doctrine we practically say to European nations that they shall not for any cause lay their hands heavily upon a country in this hemisphere. At the same time, in accordance with the views of many people of our day, we ourselves have the right to do nothing. Hence, unless we interfere or permit the European nations to interfere, there must be a continuance of the status of that country.

The original object of the Monroe Doctrine was to prevent the control and colonization of the independent states of this hemisphere by European nations. As I have before stated, this does not mean that with any orderly or stable government this government should occupy the position of suzerainty or implied control. No American believes that great states, like Argentina, Brazil or Chili, with their stable governments, should be under our implied or actual control. Still, every one who understands the conditions of the day, believes that a logical corollary of the Monroe Doctrine demands that the nations of this hemisphere shall, in their governmental affairs, do nothing which would infringe upon or impair the peace and safety of the American government. Since the construction of the canal this condition has become intensified. This government is practically a

trustee for the world in its possession of the Isthmian Canal. Is it conceivable, that with our enormously increased interests we should sit idly by and allow the peace and safety of this country to be interfered with by a country which is a plague spot to the nations of the earth? A great part of American commerce and a large part of the traffic of the world will be through the American seas between the walls of this canal and by the shores of this island. These seas will become more populous with commerce than any other section of the world. They will be a gathering place and crossing point for the east and the west, and their possession, either forcibly or otherwise, will carry with it more potentiality than the possession of any other body of water on the face of the earth. It will be absolutely necessary that the outposts of the canal shall be in the hands of strong and stable governments, and it cannot be thought that the harbors necessary for that commerce and the islands by which it will pass, and in whose broad bays it will be compelled to anchor, shall be rife with revolution and dangerous to that commerce. Is it reasonable that this country, which is practically guardian of this commerce, will allow a condition to obtain which will be a daily menace to this great American commerce, and surely bring about the complications which must interfere with the peace and safety of this country? This great traffic must be clear and uninterfered with, and the responsibility is upon us to see that within these seas the rights of a hundred million people and their unborn descendants shall not be interfered with by countries which are not able to preserve a stable government for themselves.

The government believes that the fundamental principles of a country's life should be freedom and consent of the governed, yet it is idle to speak of the consent of the governed in an island which has never known anything but a blood stained despotism.

Ex-President Roosevelt in "Chili and the Monroe Doctrine," says:

It is untruthful folly to assert that it is possible for the United States, or for any other great nation, to treat an anarchic and wrong-doing country on a footing of real and full equality of which I have above spoken as representing that plane of conduct which should characterize all the dealings between my nation and your own, and my nation and certain other South American republics. I hope, and I am reasonably confident, that the less advanced nations of the New World will in their turn gradually advance just as my nation and yours, as well as certain others, have already advanced. As soon as any such nation

in the course of its advance reaches a position of self-respecting strength and orderly liberty and achieved power to do and to exact justice, then it should at once step out from any position of tutelage in any respect.

A distinguished writer in advocating the abrogation of the Monroe Doctrine speaks of it as if all danger to the South and Central American republics was over. Permit a little plain speaking on this subject, for it is sometimes helpful in the great as well as in the small affairs of the world. I believe if it had not been for the promulgation and the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine by this republic, there would not today be on the continent of South America or in Central America a government independent of European control. Let us look at the situation of today throughout the world, and ascertain if there is any change in the desires of the nations since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. The earth hunger of the European countries is fiercer than ever in its history. Their vastly increasing populations demand an enlargement of their national life, and the peoples of the European governments demand more food and more labor than their countries can furnish. The great new markets of the world are South and Central America, China and some parts of Africa. China has been practically delimited into the spheres of influence by the European and the Japanese governments, and Mongolia has been raped from her bosom. The gaunt breast of Africa has been seized and marked out for their own by the European governments. The whitening bones of Italian, Arab and Turk in Tripoli, the fierce anger of France and Germany only last year over Morocco, the busy colonization plans of Europe in Northern Africa, the strife of the dying Moslem Empire, the seizure and occupation of Egypt by England, and the tremendous conflict between Russia and Japan, which in its last analysis was a conflict for territory, all attest that today the earth hunger is not satiated by the peoples of Europe. I say it solemnly and with all the earnestness with which I can express it, that I believe, were it not for the power of the Monroe Doctrine, within ten years, excepting Argentine, Brazil and Chili, there would not be a free and independent government in South America. Their marvelous natural wealth, their splendor of climate, their richness of flora and fauna, and their wealth of precious metals, would more surely provoke the desire of the European nations than the gaunt, fever stricken and the fierce sunburned wastes of Africa.

Those who feel that the Monroe Doctrine is outworn and that it should be abrogated evidently do not remember very modern history. My meaning is illustrated by one of the great A B C nations of the South American continent. Many of us remember the incident as of yesterday, when the revolution against the republic was inaugurated in Brazil. For the purpose of reëstablishing the empire the navy of Brazil was in favor of the overturning of the republic and the restoration of the Braganza family to the head of an imperial Brazilian government. In the harbor of Rio Janeiro was congregated an assembly of the warships of the monarchies of Europe and the Republic of the United States. The commanders of the European squadrons were in sympathy with the revolutionists and unwilling to do anything which would interfere with the plans of the Imperialists. When the Imperialists attempted to establish a blockade, to carry out their plans of revolution, the American commander, acting under the Monroe Doctrine, by direction of our government in Washington, was the only naval commander who objected, and he cleared for action and forced the admiral commanding the Imperial forces to desist from his purposes. It must be remembered that this was only in 1893, and happened to the great republican government of Brazil, our friend and neighbor.

Let us take another modern and well known application. So late as 1894, the British government attempted to force a situation with Venezuela, which would bring about British control of the Orinoco region and practically shut up in British hands the control of one of the greatest rivers of commerce, a region which has imperial potentialities of trade and commercial life. Had it not been for the strong hand of this government, acting through and under the provisions of the Monroe Doctrine, today an important field of commerce, a vast region of South America, a great portion of an independent republic, and the control of a mighty river would be in the grasp of the British empire.

The question of European interference today is not dead. To every one who reads, there arises the question of the settlement of the position of the great foreign colonies in South America. Every well informed student of public affairs and international matters is looking forward to the time when friction will develop between the home governments of these colonists and the republics within whose territories they live.

Secretary Olney says:

The people of the United States have learned in the school of experience to what extent the relations of states to each other depend, not upon sentiment nor principle, but upon selfish interest. They will not soon forget that, in their hour of distress, all their anxieties and burdens were aggravated by the possibility of demonstrations against their national life on the part of the powers with whom they had long maintained the most harmonious relations. They have yet in mind that France seized upon the apparent opportunity of our civil war to set up a monarchy in the adjoining state of Mexico. They realize that had France and Great Britain held important South American possessions to work from and to benefit, the temptation to destroy the predominance of the Great Republic in this hemisphere by furthering its dismemberment might have been irresistible. From that grave peril they have been saved in the past and may be saved again in the future through the operation of the sure but silent force of the doctrine proclaimed by President Monroe. To abandon it, on the other hand, disregarding both the logic of the situation and the facts of our past experience, would be to renounce a policy which has proved both an easy defense against foreign aggression and a prolific source of internal progress and prosperity.

We desire to go in peace and equity with the peoples of this hemisphere, to that consummation where all will be kindness and trust between this republic and our neighbors. Still, the great thought of this republic is that it is best for all to maintain the Monroe Doctrine in all its virility. With our President we expressly disclaim any desire of conquest, nor do we wish any suzerainty or control of the stable nations of this hemisphere. Here is where the correct differentiation is lost sight of in the Latin countries. It is idle to speak of the great nations, stable and orderly as they are, as standing on a level with disorderly, revolution-ridden despotisms, such as have been discussed and which in many instances obtain in Latin America. This great doctrine is fundamentally necessary to the existence of the peace and safety of this country, yet we wish the help and the assistance of the great and stable nations of South America to carry it to its great fruition.

The application of these propositions to the subject under consideration is plain. Whilst this government has no desire for conquest, yet the great advance in the world movement and in the vital commercial affairs of the globe, demands that the peace and safety of this hemisphere shall not be needlessly and wickedly broken, and that the peace, happiness and safety of this nation and the commerce of the world within the bounds of our governmental life shall not be im-

periled in the future as they have been in the past. The tremendous impetus, which under the world movements of today, has been so potent and plain, demands order in all of the affairs and details of its life. The conditions of the times and the dependence of one part of the globe upon the other, brought about by the easy interchange between the nations, mean that no disorder in that great world commerce will be again lightly tolerated.

Under the plainest and fairest interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine it reaches easily the subject under discussion. Under its original application it will not allow a situation to obtain which will give the opportunity for foreign nations to interfere in the governmental life of countries of our hemisphere. Under the fundamental meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, it will imperil the peace, safety and happiness of this country if an island, lying at our doors, within touch of our daily life, athwart our greatest line of commerce, shall continue its life of disorder in the future as it has in the past. This position of our country should breed no distrust among our self-respecting and stable neighbors on this hemisphere. We will go along with them, hand in hand, and with their assistance help the nations which are weak, and do what we can to place them on eternal foundations of freedom, prosperity and order, so that they may become part and parcel of this great free brotherhood on the western hemisphere.

A great writer speaks of the abrogation of the doctrine, and voices the distrust and suspicion among the nations of the southern hemisphere. To this we reply with the pages of history, and ask under what government, people, or system, that has ever existed since history began to write its pages, have there been preserved, in their freedom and governmental life, so many weak nations as have existed on this hemisphere, side by side with this powerful republic? He has cited as cause of distrust California and Mexico. These were life movements, absolutely instinctive in their being, and demanded by the very existence of this nation.

Distinguished writers so frequently discuss the jealousy of the South American nations towards the United States by reason of the Monroe Doctrine. One has gone so far as to give in detail the size and strength of South American dreadnaughts, and to deal with immense particularity as to the amount of beef and wheat raised and shipped by these nations.

It is true that some jealousy does really exist. That cannot be

avoided. The thinking statesmen of the South American countries, however, do not believe in the unjust aggression of the United States. Those of them who know the situation and understand it do not fear the Monroe Doctrine or its consequences. There are professional politicians in South America who fan the embers of distrust for their own uprising and their own purposes, but the great trend of sentiment and thought on the part of the leaders in the great states of South America is not in this direction.

I quote the statement of Señor Zabellos of Argentina, as a fair indication of the thought of those of South America who know the real feeling of our country towards its southern neighbors:

What other countries of America have the same world problems as Panama and Mexico, the latter on the frontier of the United States, and the former the throat of the continent itself? They have nothing in common with the problems of the River Plata, or the shores of Brazil, or the coast of Chili. The Monroe Doctrine is necessary today to the United States. The Caribbean Sea washes the coast of the richest part of the United States, and it is necessary that it be dominated by them, in order to guarantee the independence and security of the United States. Under these circumstances, when there is constant danger of European intervention, as in the case of Venezuela, the United States said to the powers, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, "You can urge your claims in accordance with international procedure, but you cannot take territory, because if you do you will have to deal with the armed forces of the United States." The powers thereupon became less aggressive and the matter was settled by arbitration. This action of the United States emphasized once more the doctrine that no European power will be permitted to acquire territory on the continent of America.

Thoughtful men do not agree with the contention in some directions that the Monroe Doctrine should be enforced under an agreement with South American states. It seems that this would be impracticable. The Monroe Doctrine necessarily is an emergency doctrine. While it is fundamental the demand for its action is immediate and decisive. It is a doctrine which demands absolute and direct action to make it effective. Very many serious questions arise as to the practicability of the carrying out of any such agreement between the states of South America and the United States.

In the first place, the interests of this government are greater than the interests of any other government on this hemisphere. What relative power would this government have as against the other contracting powers? The Monroe Doctrine is a doctrine peculiarly

applying to the United States. When this doctrine is divided, so that it applies to other governments, necessarily the very essence of this doctrine is done away with.

Again, it has been the history of international affairs, that agreements between nations, diverse in thought, life, sentiment, situation, and race, have never been successful. Here would be an agreement for the enforcement of the doctrine between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin nations absolutely different in temperament, and also between nations whose whole financial and local situation is absolutely different from that of the United States.

Suppose, for instance, a question should arise between England and some of the South American states, and that the contracting powers for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine would be the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chili. Those who know the situation in Argentina would not suppose for a moment that Argentina would oppose England in some controversy as to some minor state, which would be important to the United States, but relatively unimportant to Argentina. This illustration applies with equal force as to the other South American states. The money with which these great states are being developed, and the population which is largely engaged in developing them, come from Europe and Europe could injure these states financially if they opposed European interests in and about the enforcing of the Monroe Doctrine.

This is a mere illustration of the multitude of troubles which would come by an agreement that the Monroe Doctrine should be enforced by a joint action of South American states and the United States. The questions are so absolutely diverse as between the United States and these countries, that no unity of action could be brought about so as to make the enforcement of the doctrine effective. While this is true the Monroe Doctrine should not be enforced with a strong hand, but should be carried out in justice, in courtesy and in fairness between our country and the countries of South America. This honesty and respect obtain among nations just as among men and by the immutable laws of cause and effect, and the action of this government upon a high plane will surely obtain and hold the respect of the countries of South America.

The Monroe Doctrine within its very nature is a doctrine which is fundamental and peculiar to the United States. While it should be carried out in justice, the mode, the time, the place and the manner

of its operation should be, and I believe will be, directed and controlled absolutely by the United States. To place it in other hands would be the destruction of the doctrine, which has been vital to this country and to this hemisphere, and cause the weakening of the hands of this government in the direction where international trade and life will demand that our hands should be strong, and absolutely free to act decisively in the great international emergencies which arise so unexpectedly and which are fraught with such momentous consequences.

The doctrine of Monroe is a doctrine of help and peace. It is true that those who love our country believe that this Republic "looks hopefully to the time when by the voluntary departure of European governments from this continent and the adjacent islands, America shall be wholly American." Still these governments and their systems are here and are part of the life of this hemisphere. They will surely demand that we preserve order and conserve the safety of the commerce within our sphere. This means absolute order. To bring about this order this government will not hurt the self-respect or pride of any great and stable nations of our hemisphere. We will work with them along the lines of mutual respect and esteem. Touched by the new life, which is making them so vital and important a part of the world affairs of the day, they will understand that the conditions of other days cannot continue, and that the responsibilities brought about by present world conditions demand that our safety and peace, as well as theirs, compel the continued existence of the Monroe Doctrine in its full virility. When this is understood there will be no distrust. There will be the co-mingling of nations with the same governmental freedom. It will be a great brotherhood, and the only one, of free people and free nations marching onward hand in hand to the consummation of that blessed time when the strong will not oppose the weak, and when filled with mutual esteem, confidence and regard, and touched by the wondrous vitalizing life of freedom, the nations of this hemisphere, great and little, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, will show to the world the splendor of freedom in its highest and best development.